

G. W. Elderkin

The First Three Temples
at Delphi

DF261
.D35E3

Library of The Theological Seminary

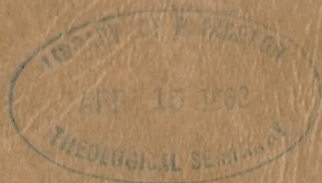
PRINCETON • NEW JERSEY



PRESENTED BY
The Author

DF261

.D35E3



THE FIRST THREE TEMPLES AT DELPHI

Their religious and historical significance

by

George W. Elderkin

Princeton, New Jersey

1962

By the same author

Related Religious Ideas of Delphi, Tara and Jerusalem

A Study of the Dionysiac Tradition

The Pond-Ekberg Company

Springfield 9, Mass.

122 pp. \$4.00

A Comparative Study of Basque and Greek Vocabularies. 1958

The Princeton University Store

117 pp. \$5.00

DF261

.D35E3

THE FIRST THREE TEMPLES AT DELPHI: THEIR RELIGIOUS AND HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

I

Pausanias tells us that the first temple of Apollo at Delphi was made of laurel boughs which had been brought from Tempe, a valley in Thessaly (X, 5, 9). This provenance is confirmed by an inscription which gives the god the appellative *Tempeitas*. The title is the more significant in the light of the myth that Daphne "Laurel" when pursued by Apollo was transformed into a laurel tree to escape him. She was the daughter of Peneus, the god of the river which flows through Tempe. His importance in Boeotian tradition is shown by the earlier name of Orchomenos which was Andreis from Andreus, its founder, who was the son of Peneus. A statue of him was set up at Delphi (Paus., X, 13, 4). The laurel branch appears in scenes of the Delphic sanctuary in Greek vase painting where it is held by Apollo and probably alludes to the seizure of the maid at the moment of her transformation. Its importance in Delphic tradition is also shown by the laurel crowns for the victors in the Pythian games and by the *epitheton daphnekomos* given to tripods. Furthermore Apolline priestesses chewed laurel leaves to facilitate prophecy, and Hesiod held a laurel wand when he sang (Paus., IX, 30, 3).

Apollo and the laurel were not the first to arrive from the north. Pausanias records a tradition (X, 5, 7) that the oracle was instituted by Olen and others who came from the land of the Hyperboreans. The sacred way from Tempe to Delphi bore the name Pythias showing that the Python also came from the north. Its prophetic function is attested by the word *ophiebosie* "food of serpents" which was used of the Pythian laurel. The Python in eating the laurel qualified for the title mantic *daimon*.¹ Herein lies the reason for the killing of the Python by Apollo. They were rivals for the possession of the Delphic oracle. The prophetic function of the Python, which gave Delphi its earlier name of Pytho, explains the curious tradition that its bones and teeth were found in a tripod. Apparently it had anticipated the fate of Zagreus and been boiled leaving only its bony structure as mute evidence of its fate. Was the *sparagmos* of Zagreus the ritual successor of that of snakes, a primitive rite which occurred in the spring-time?² Herein may lie the reason why the Pythia delivered her oracles from a tripod.

1. The importance of the laurel at Delphi explains Apollo's Aristophanic title *Daphnepolos* "seller of the laurel". In selling laurel Apollo sold his oracle! For bribery of the oracle v. Pausanias III, 4, 4.

2. Cf. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States* V, p. 166.

II

The second temple at Delphi, according to Pausanias, was made by bees out of wax and feathers the choice of which was again determined by their significance in local tradition. A swarm of bees revealed the oracle of Trophonius at Lebadea in Boeotia (Paus., IX, 40, 2). It was this Trophonius who built a temple of Apollo at Delphi and a treasury for Hyrieus "beekeeper" at Orchomenos (*ibid.*, IX, 37, 5). The bee contributed the title Melissa "bee" to a Delphic priestess, and its honey was for some reason of significance for the dead.¹

The curious attachment of bees to bulls (and both play an important role in tradition) is shown by the remark of Pausanias (1, 32, 1) that the Scythian Alazones leave bees free to follow cattle to pasture, "not keeping them shut up in hives." This relationship seems to find expression in the earlier name for the Boeotians which was Blissioi, a name derived from *blisso* "to take the honey" and the later Boiotoi which is based on *bous* "bull" or "bullock". A belief in the genetic relationship of the bee and the bull is expressed by the adjective *bougeneis* "born of bulls"² a word metaphorically applied to human souls. In Egypt there prevailed a belief that if a bull was buried up to its horns and these were cut off, bees would fly out. Bees were thus "born of bulls," and entitled to the patronymic *tauropator* "having a bull as father."

The importance of the bee at Delphi was due to the fact that its honey was a constituent of mead, the northern (Hyperborean) inebriating drink and the predecessor of wine in the production of ecstasy in the prophetess. It is no wonder that Thyiads "possessed women" and Dionysus were represented in the gable of the temple of Apollo at Delphi (Paus., X, 19, 4). The disuse of mead, and the substitution of wine there, was an innovation which Cadmus certainly introduced after his defeat in Attica of the Tuatha Dé Danann,³ a Scythian folk. They had descended from the north into Greece while the forebears of Cadmus, the great tribe of Gaedheal, had invaded the coast lands of Asia Minor and Syria. From Delphi Cadmus proceeded to Boeotian Thebes where, according to a tradition preserved by Pausanias (IX, 12, 4), a log fell from heaven. This was sheathed in bronze and called

1. In the Mithraic cult the *leones* and the *Perses* were purified with honey which was thought to confer immortality (v. Usener, *Hermes*, 1902, p. 177).

2. Cf. Cook, *Zeus* 1, p. 514. On *aerides* "bees" v. my *Related Religious Ideas of Delphi, Tara and Jerusalem* p. 68.

3. Cf. Keating, *History of Ireland* 1, pp. 203-5 (trans. Comyn). Keating calls the army of Cadmus "Syrians."

Dionysus-Cadmus.¹ He was a goat god as his entourage of Satyrs and Sileni clearly proves. He superseded a bull god Zagreus who had such form when the Titans tore him to pieces. They were smitten with thunderbolts by Zeus, the father of Zagreus, who then ordered the pieces to be assembled and buried on Parnassus (*i.e.* Delphi). He returned to life as Dionysus. This was an attempt to reconcile two rival gods of fertility.²

The victory in Attica of the Syrian goat-god under the leadership of the Tyrian Cadmus seems to have provoked the expedition of king Taurus ("Bull") of Crete against Tyre. He devastated the city. His sudden attack by night was remembered for centuries. Malalas in the sixth (?) century A.D. records the fact that in his time the Tyrians referred to the calamity as "The Evil Evening."³ At this time Taurus took Europa captive to Crete where she became the mother of Minos; he built a great city which he named Gortyna. When the Tyrian king Agenor returned to Tyre he despatched Cadmus in quest of Europa. This king like Hercules, who had a temple at Tyre, had three sons, apparently a conventional Scythian number.

Another chapter in the same religious war was the unsuccessful expedition of Dionysus who led the Aegean women against Argos. One of their leaders was the Bacchanal Chorea. Dionysus was quite logically the leader of an expedition from the Aegean which derived its name from *aix*, *aigos* "goat." It was the Argives who swore to continue the war against Troy until the city was taken.⁴

Other religious wars of this period include that of Minos who forced Miletus to flee from Crete with an army (Paus., VII, 2, 5). Apparently these Milesians (another name for the sons of Gaedheal) were conquered by the ancient Ionians, worshippers of the Heliconian Poseidon, who put all the males to the sword. When the Cretans failed in their expedition against Camicus in Sicily and had to depart for home, they were driven ashore

1. Centuries later the arrival of Dionysus at the oracle was the subject of a vase painting of the RF Athenian style (Cook, *Zeus* II, I p. 262, pl. XVII). The god of wine, accompanied by three Sileni, makes it quite clear that a priestess is placing a cushion on a chair for the newcomer. The palm (*phoinix* "date palm") alludes to the Phoinician provenance of the Cadmean god. The omphalos definitely locates the scene at Delphi. Another vase painting by the Athenian artist Andocides, represents Heracles, whose Cadmean attachment is evident from his temple at Tyre, seeking to wrest the tripod from Apollo. (Swindler, *Ancient Painting*, fig. 294). The tripod was a symbol of the oracle because of its use as a prophetic seat by the Pythian priestess.

2. For the literature and informative comment thereon v. Cook, *op. cit.* II, 2, pp. 1031-32.

3. Malalas, *Chronographia* II, 0, 34-35.

4. Paus., II, 22, 2-4.

and founded Hyria in Messapia. In keeping with their cult of the bull and the bee they called their settlement Hyria from *hyron* "bee-hive." The conclusion is that the worshippers of Dionysus were the dominant migrants to the far western Mediterranean. Hercules their protagonist overcame Geryon at Erytheia, near the straits of Gibraltar, and drove his cattle to Scythia!

The discussion of the bull and the goat and the association of the first with Zeus and the second with Dionysus involves the sacrificial role which these two animals play in the *Book of Leviticus*, the more so if this book has been correctly attributed to Moses. Of the two goats for which Aaron cast lots, one was for Jehovah and the other for Azazel (XVI, 8). The latter goat, laden with the sins of the congregation, was sent "to the wilderness, the abode of the prince of darkness, back to the author of all sin."¹ The emphasis placed upon the sinfulness of the goat has its counterpart in Greek tradition. At Gaeus in Achaea (Paus., VII, 25, 13) the priestesses drank bull's blood to prove their chastity. This sets the bull in opposition to the goat. The name Satyr was not only a title of Dionysus but was applied to a "lewd, goatish fellow." This contrast is seen in the greater emphasis placed upon the sacrifice of a young bullock for Aaron (*Lev. XVI, 6*) and the placing of the iniquities of the children of Israel upon the head of a goat which will take them to Azazel in the wilderness (*Lev. XVI, 21-22*). The blood of both victims is sprinkled upon the mercy-seat with the finger of Aaron seven times. It is more than a coincidence that the number in this rite is seven, as was that of the pieces into which the body of Zagreus was torn while in the form of a bullock at Delphi (Parnassos). The number survives in the *New Testament*. In *Revelation 1, 4* John addresses the seven churches in Asia. In 1, 12 he sees seven candlesticks. In IV, 5, the seven lamps before the heavenly throne are the seven spirits of God.² One may surmise that the distinction of this number is far older than Delphi.

Bishop C. J. Ellicott (op. cit., p. 151) in comment upon the two goats which Aaron is to offer observes "If the one member of the antithesis (*Lev. XVI, 8*) 'for Jehovah' denotes a person, the second member 'for Azazel' must also denote a person." So Azazel must be a person. It is here proposed that the *Aza* of the name Azazel is the same word as the Greek *Aza* (and its variant *Gaza*), the name of an important city in Palestine. As a common

1. Ellicott, *Leviticus*, p. 150. The wilderness as the abode of the devil reappears in *Mark 1, 10-13* where the baptism of Christ is followed by the descent of the *Pneuma* in the form of a dove (reminiscent of the prophetic dove of Zeus at Dodona?) and the announcement of his divinity. The Spirit then cast Him into the wilderness where for forty days he was tempted by Satan. (cf. *Mark IV, 1*).

2. For further discussion of the number seven v. my *Related Religious Ideas* of Delphi, Tara and Jerusalem pp. 23-24.

noun *aza* means "she-goat."¹ Azazel is the Greek goat-god Dionysus. He had descended with the sons of Gaedheal into Palestine from Scythia. Dionysus was in origin a goat which embodied a primitive god of fertility. A temple of the god entitled "of the Black Goatskin" in Hermion (Paus., II, 35, 1) is further evidence of his goatishness.²

That the goat as a god of evil character had a long history is shown by that at Akelarre in Spain whither he had been brought apparently by the people of Gaedheal in the second millennium B.C., an amazing migration from Palestine. Like Azazel the goat of Akelarre is the devil who survives in *The New Testament*.

Another survival from the days of Scythian migration into the area of the Mediterranean was the offering of first fruits. These were brought by the Hyperboreans, with the help of Scythians, to the island of Delos.³ The rite also descended into Palestine. In *Exodus* XXII, 29 not only the harvest and the "outflow of the presses" but "the first born of thy sons shalt thou give unto me." This command is also found in *Exodus* XIII; XXIII, 19 and *Leviticus* II, 12. The Scythian folk of Gaedheal who appear to have given the Hebrews the idea of offering first fruits to Jehovah, seem to have done the same for pagan Ireland where Crom at Moy Slaughter also received "the firstlings of every issue."⁴

An important requirement of sacrifice in the *Old Testament* was that the whole of the offering⁵ "be consumed upon the holy altar at the door of the tent of the meeting." The animal to be burnt was a bullock. In *Leviticus* I, 5 one reads: "And he shall kill the bullock before Jehovah: and Aaron's sons, the priests, . . . shall sprinkle the blood round upon the altar that is at the door of the tent of meeting . . . and . . . shall cut it (the burnt offering) into pieces . . . And if his oblation to Jehovah be a burnt offering of birds, then he shall offer his oblation of turtle doves or of young pigeons" (*Lev.*, I, 14). One may be reminded of the *komos* of doves in the "sacred tents" at

1. Cf. Pape, *Griech. Eigenn.* s. v.

2. The impact of this hircine intruder into the land of the Hebrews may have contributed two words to their vocabulary. Hebrew *akko* "wild goat" may be (B) *akcho* (s); Hebrew *ya'el* of the same meaning is perhaps Gael, the syncope form of Gaedheal. Professor Henry S. Gehman has kindly called my attention to the fact the *akko* has a cognate in Akkadian, and that *ya'el* has a number of cognates in Semitic languages. These may cause a doubt as to the Scythian provenance of the two words here proposed.

3. Cf. Pausanias I, 31, 2.

4. Hyde, *Literary History of Ireland*, p. 83.

5. S. H. Kellogg, *The Book of Leviticus*, p. 50.

Delphi.¹ These doves, acquire distinctly Dionysiac connotation both from the word *komos* "band of revellers" and the drinking of wine on the floor by one of them.² Close "cousins" of these doves are those at the oracle of Zeus at Dodona. The bibulousness of the dove at Delphi associates it with Dionysus. The affectionate disposition of the turtle dove makes it an attribute of Aphrodite, the goddess of love. The logical companionship of Dionysus and Aphrodite was realized by the Greeks.

A striking coincidence, suggestive of a remote kinship of Israelite and Greek sacrificial rites, is furnished by the Greek theatre, particularly that on the southern slope of the Athenian acropolis. In both rites a tent (*skene* in Greek) was the background for an offering. In the Israelite rite a bullock³ was offered. At the center of the orchestra of the theatre at Athens was an altar called *thymele* where, as its name indicates, the members (*mele*) of a victim were sacrificed to Dionysus. This was probably a bullock in allusion to Zagreus who, while in bovine form, was torn to pieces and consumed by the Titans. The Jewish bullock of *Leviticus* I, 6 was cut into pieces. The heptagon carved in the floor at the center of the orchestra at Athens probably marks the station of seven priests each one of whom placed a piece of the torn bovine Zagreus in a centrally placed tripod. Such rite would commemorate the *sparagmos* and boiling of the bull-god who came to life again as Dionysus.⁴ The dithyrambic contests which were held in the Athenian theatre dealt with the sufferings of Dionysus according to Plutarch.⁵ The prize was appropriately a tripod as a symbol of the boiling of the god by the Titans. The importance of the prize of the dithyrambic contests was indicated by the fact that it was set up on a street reserved for such prizes. That Dionysus played a very significant role in the Athenian theatre is shown by the ornate centrally placed throne of his priest and by the title *tragikos* "goatish" for the serious play in the theatre. Furthermore a clear indication of Athenian attachment to Delphi, and Dionysus there, was the dance of the Thyiads along the way from Athens to Parnassus in which Delphian women participated.⁶

1. Euripides calls these tents "holy." This indicates a long history for the tent at Delphi. It is probably of Scythian origin and of nomad people.

2. Euripides, *Ion*, vv 1197, 806. A connection of the Greek word *trygon* "turtle-dove" with the Greek *tryge* "vintage" is questionable because of the difference in the quantity of the vowel.

3. *Leviticus* I, 5.

4. Hence Hesychius identified Zagreus (s. v.) with Dionysus. Did the bull which the Cynæthians of Arcadia carried to their sanctuary of Dionysus (Paus., VIII, 19, 2) allude to Zagreus and his *sparagmos*?

5. *De Ei apud Delphos* 389a.

6. Paus. X, 4, 3.

The name Zagreus has been tentatively identified with Mycenaean *sakereu*¹ and is probably the same as Basque *tsekor* "young bull." The Tuatha Dé Danann, who most likely introduced the bull cult into Greece where it flourished at Mycenae, did not descend into Asia Minor and Palestine but another Scythian tribe, the Nemedians did, and may have been worshippers of the bull. In any case the prominence of the bullock in the sacrifices of the Israelites and their antagonism to the goat finds a parallel in the religious war of the Tuatha Dé Danann and the race of Gaedheal. In *Leviticus* XVII, 7, there is a violent denunciation of the goat: "and they shall no more sacrifice their sacrifices unto the he-goats after which they play the harlot." This is aimed at the Dionysiac worship which was in vogue at Tyre and had been introduced from Scythia by Gaedheal and his invaders. The harlot alludes to Aphrodite. It was quite logical that one Aegeus, whose name is derived from the Greek *aix*, *aigos* "goat," introduced the worship of Aphrodite into Athens.

The door of the tent of meeting of Jehovah is the counterpart of the central door of the *skene* "tent" of the theatre of Dionysus. The three doors of the *scenae frons* are well preserved in the theatre at Priene.² What infuriated the Israelites against the cult of Dionysus was the goat. Its name *tragos* had a secondary meaning "lewdness, lechery" which found drastic expression in the performance of Satyrs and Sileni. Lucian mentions a priest who was called *phallobates* because he climbed a phallus-shaped pillar.³ Even Dionysus himself was named Phallen. The circular form of the orchestra was the result of a primitive dance around a goat as at Icaria at Attica.⁴

The prehistoric period of Greece witnessed an extensive migration to the west of the cult of Dionysus which reached finally, by way of Spain, the shores of Ireland. An important phase of this movement was that from Arcadia to Italy and Sicily. One of the leaders was Oinotros whose name is indicative of his affiliation. He was the son of the Arcadian Lykaon and gave his name to the old tribe of Oinotroi (form *oinos* "wine"). Pausanias says that Oinotros crossed to Italy. According to Roman tradition he arrived there with Pelasgians. To his tribe belonged the Morgetes and Morges, an early king of Sicily, whose name is clearly connected with *morgion* "a vine" and most likely a grape vine. These names suggest affiliation with the name of Morgantina,⁵ the ruins of which are now being excavated by

1. Ventris-Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek* p. 425.
2. Their number may have been determined by the divine triad of Delphi consisting of Zeus, Zagreus and Dionysus.
3. *De Syria Dea*, 29.
4. The very name Icaria is probably the same word as Basque *aker* "goat."
5. Cf., for the formation, the name of Sicilian Leontinoi.

an American expedition. Professor Sjoquist reports the discovery of a thin deposit of sherds of the late Bronze Age.¹ The "Cadmeans" among the immigrants to Sardinia who went by way of Sicily raise the question, in view of their devotion to Dionysus, whether the name Morges is a variant of the Basque *molko* "bunch of grapes" and of the Lydian *molax* "a kind of vine." The Basque *murko*, *morko* "vase" and the Greek *morgos* "leather vessel" may also be related as containers of wine. The westward migration of what may be called Dionysiac vocabulary is further illustrated by the Greek name for the Spaniards which was Iberes, the name also for a Caucasian people. It is based on *iber*, a name for an animal (Hesychius s. v.) probably the Greek *ebros* "he-goat" (Hesychius). The word had sufficient status to be the name of a son of a Thracian king.

The westward migration of the Arcadians may have been roughly contemporary with that of the "Cadmeans" and prompted by the victory of the Epigonoι in Boeotia. The prior presence of worshippers of Bacchus in Spain among the Basques may have been the chief reason for the "Cadmean" and Arcadian migration to the far west. The Scythian goat god who began life as an embodiment of fertility was, upon the advent of Christianity, relegated to hell to become the devil. The memory of his hircine features survived in western art. In the 11th and 12th centuries a Satyr-like devil appears with terrifying features, long ears and horns and the legs of a goat.² The pagan god survived also in Spanish tradition. Monteiro says that "the goat figures in all conventicles of witches as representing the evil one, the prince of darkness in whose praise irreligious songs are sung."³ Since the evil one was a goat it was quite logical that he and his witches should hold their celebrations on rocky summits called Akelarre, a name which is probably composed of Basque *aker* "goat" and *arre* (cf. *harroka* "high rock") and means "Goat Rock." The Arcadian correspondent of Akelarre was Mt. Maenalus where Pan, to whom it was very sacred (Paus., VIII, 8), used to pipe. The Maenads who shared their name with Mt. Maenalus are the cousins of the witches of the Basque Akerlarre. The identification of the Greek Bacchus with Basque *akher*, *aker* "goat" is confirmed by the representation of the god with small horns on his forehead, as by Ovid. The presence of a hircine Bacchus in Roman tradition is to be linked with Aeneas as the progenitor of the Romans. His name is based on the Basque word *aine* "goat." The mother of Aeneas was Aphrodite who was represented riding on a goat by the sculptor Scopas. Bacchus was especially worshipped in Thrace and Macedonia. With Aeneas is to be

1. *A.J.A.*, 1962, pp 141-2. This discovery may help to establish the period of Dionysiac migration to the west.

2. Cf. Karl Kunstle, *Ikonographie der Christlichen Kunst*, I, p. 255. I owe this citation to Miss R. B. Green, Director of the Index of Christian Art at Princeton.

3. *Legends and Popular Tales of the Basque People*, pp. 20ff.

mentioned Dardanus, the ancestor of the royal race of Troy, who was of Arcadian provenance. This explains the fact that the Arcadians and Trojans were "pro-Dionysus" while the name of the Danaans, who were subjects of the Argive king Danaos, was a collective designation of the Greeks before Troy. The expedition of Dionysus against Argos shows that he was hostile to the Danaans. The latter were certainly worshippers of the god Zagreus.

In Spain the people of Gaedheal were also known as Milesians. The great importance of this name is indicated by Herodotus (IV, 78-84) who tells us that the Borysthenitai on the north coast of the Euxine were Milesians (and therefore worshippers of Dionysus). The fierce antagonism of their cult to that of their neighbors on the east is very clearly shown by the fate of the Scythian king Scylas. This king was secretly given to the worship of Dionysus in the city of the Borysthenitai. For this apostasy he was beheaded by his own brother who had succeeded him in the kingship. Milesians was another name for the sons of Gaedheal and is used as a name for the latter in the pages of Keating. The fate of Scylas is a concrete illustration of the fierce hostility of the rival Scythian cults of the goat and the bull, a hostility which caused all the wars of the Mycenaean age from the shores of Asia Minor to Spain and Ireland.

Pausanias (II, 37, 3) tells us that before the return of the Heraclidae who took Argos, the Argives spoke the same dialect as the Athenians. Heracles, who had a temple at Tyre (Herod. II, 44), was pro-Cadmean and therefore hostile to the Tuatha Dé Danann. This community of language explains the close ties of Argos with Delphi prior to the arrival of Cadmus. The statue of Danaus, the most powerful of the kings of Argos, was set up at Delphi (Paus., X, 10, 5). His name may be related to that of Danann. Possibly the return of the Heraclidae included the hero who had been expelled from Tiryns by Eurystheus, king of Mycenae. Did Hercules then repair to Scythia? However that may be he remained there long enough to have three sons by a Scythian woman who was serpentine from the waist down (Herod., IV, 9-10). These sons, half serpentine (?) like their mother, may be commemorated by the triad of male figures with serpentine extremities in the pediment of the old temple of Athena on the acropolis of Athens. Hercules who brought the wild olive from the Hyperboreans was the ally of that goddess.¹ In the pedimental group his (?) three Scythian sons are watching their father wrestling with the Triton, the son of Poseidon. This was a very appropriate subject, anticipating the magnificent version of the contest between the goddess and Poseidon in the west gable of the Parthenon. Athena was the ally of the Trojans while Poseidon was aligned with the Greeks in the long siege of Troy. Their conflict was a phase of the great religious struggle of the Mycenaean age between the

1. Did Scythians appear in Athens at this time to serve as police?

Tuatha Dé Danann and the people of Gaedheal, between the worshippers of the bull god and the goat god. The rivalry of Athena and Poseidon is seen in the story of the bull which Poseidon sent to Crete and which crossed to the mainland. It was finally driven by Theseus to the acropolis of Athens and sacrificed to Athena (Paus., I, 27, 10). The hostility to Poseidon on the acropolis survived even into the fifth century when a symmetrical Erechtheum, planned as a temple of reconciliation, failed of completion. The western half intended for Poseidon was not built. Erechtheus was another name for Poseidon at Athens.

The establishment of Dionysiac cult at Thebes (and Delphi) apparently lasted about a generation. Aristaeus, whose wife was the daughter of Cadmus, left Thebes disgusted with Boeotia and the whole of Greece (Paus., X, 17, 3). This most likely implies the capture of Thebes by the Epigonoi (*ibid.*, IX, 25, 7). Aristaeus migrated to Sardinia where by a curious coincidence some Trojans had been driven by gales (Paus., X, 17, 6). The presence there of Boeotians may explain the remark of Pausanias (X, 17, 1) that barbarian inhabitants of Sardinia sent to Delphi a bronze statue of their hero. Another curious tradition was that Iolaus, a nephew of Hercules, who killed the Mycenaean king Eurystheus after the battle with the Heraclids (Paus., I, 44, 9), led a colony of Athenians to Sardinia. The Trojan Aeneas, in his flight to the west from Troy, took with him the image of Athena that had fallen from heaven. He was a worshipper of the goat god Dionysus to judge from his name which was based, as already noted, on the word *aine* "goat." This word like the Basque *aker* "goat" in Akel-arre had devilish ties. The Basque diminutive *ainanino* means "little goat" and "devil".

Since Aeneas buried his father Anchises in Arcadia¹ and near the ruins of a sanctuary of Aphrodite, the divine consort of his parent, it is reasonable to believe that Aeneas went to Italy by way of Arcadia with the Palladion. It will be recalled that the return of the Heraclids threw all the Peloponnesus except Arcadia into confusion.² The Arcadian Evander had set out from Pallantium to build a city by the river Tiber. He gave it the name of his city. The fact that centuries later the Emperor Antoninus conferred privileges upon Evander's native city justifies Pausanias in deriving Palation from Pallantion (Paus., VIII, 43, 2). One tradition said that Pallantia was the name of a daughter of Evander after whom the Palatine hill was named. Ancient tradition unanimously places the earliest nucleus of Rome on the Palatine.³ With the Palladion went the goddess Pallas and her

1. Paus., VIII, 12, 8-9.

2. Paus., II, 13, 1.

3. Platner and Ashby, *Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, p. 375.

ally Hercules who was early commemorated at Rome by an altar inscribed *Herculis Invicti Ara Maxima*.¹ His divinity was recognized by Evander.¹ A further allusion to the invincible hero may be the very name of Rome which is the Greek *rome*. Hesiod uses the periphrasis "the strength (is) of Heracles" (*Theog.* 951).² Another indication of the close association at Rome of the hero with Athena is his title Olivarius. Platner and Ashby (p. 255) suggest that the title may have been due to the presence of dealers in oil who regarded Hercules as their tutelary deity but this suggestion ignores important traditions as to Hercules and the olive. He planted at Olympia a shoot from the sacred olive at Athens.³ He had brought the wild olive from the Hyperboreans to Greece (Paus., V, 7, 7). It was said to have sprung from his club (*ibid.*, II, 31, 10) and victors in the Olympic games were crowned with it (*ibid.*, VIII, 48, 2).

Did Evander take with him from Arcadia and its Mt. Maenalus the inspirational frenzy of a Maenad? An answer in the affirmative is suggested by the name Vatican, for a hill at Rome, and its congeners *vaticinatio* "propheying," *vaticinator* "prophet" and *vaticinor* "to prophesy." Perhaps Plautus was hinting at an obligation to Greece when he created the lexical hybrid *manticinor*. The three Latin words all contain as second component the verb *cano* "to sing" while *vati* is *vatis* both "poet" and "seer". Olen the Hyperborean was the first at Delphi to sing oracles in hexameters (Paus., X, 5, 7).⁴ A second meaning of *vaticinor* "to rave" has a semantic counterpart in the Greek Mainas "raving Bacchante." It seems probable that Evander, the founder of Rome, introduced the Dionysiac prerequisite of prophecy which accounts for the presence of the wine god at Delphi. Apparently the Latin *hydromeli* played no role in prophecy at Rome as mead did in Greece before the arrival of Cadmus.

An approximate date for the Greek migrations to the west, including that to Morgantina, may have been the fall of Troy⁵ which is tentatively dated with the help of Herodotus (II, 146) who says that the siege occurred about 800 years before his time *i.e.* in the thirteenth century. This puts the war roughly in the late Bronze Age (1600-1100). Homer calls the Thebans Cadmeans, a name indicative of sympathetic interest in the Trojans. The Cadmeans came from Tyre but were not Semitic. It has been noted recently that the Phoenicians hardly appear in the *Iliad*.⁶ The reason for such scant

1. *Ibid.*, p. 253.

2. *Cf. Iliad*, 18, 117.

3. Frazer, *Pausanias* III, p. 484.

4. Was the hexameter of Hyperborean origin?

5. And the return of the Epigoni to Thebes?

6. Carpenter, *A.J.A.* 1958, p. 35.

appearance is that they were not involved in the siege. The Cadmeans were pro-Trojan but Scythian in origin. Another Cadmus who ruled the island of Cos had a son named Scythes (Herod., VII, 163). The Trojans like the Cadmeans worshipped the goddess Athena. It was at the time of the capture of Thebes by the Epigonoι that the Cabiri were driven from their homes by the Argives, a fact prompting the suggestion that their mysteries were drastically Dionysiac. The name Cabirus may be the Tyrrhenian *kapra* "Goat". There were Tyrrhenians settled in Athens (Thucydides IV, 109). Expulsions of people from their native cities for religious reasons had a long vogue. In the 7th century B.C. an ancient royal family, the Bacchiadae, who were descended from one of the Heraclids named Bacchis were expelled from Corinth by Cypselus. His name is obviously derived from the Greek *kypselion* "bee-hive." The Bacchiadae, like their Dionysiac predecessors, went west and founded Syracuse.

The name Cypselids suggests the bee in the earlier tradition at Delphi. Bees built the second temple there of wax and feathers. As to the latter Pausanias does not gratify our curiosity by specifying the kind of feathers. We are left to inference from the *Ion* of Euripides who tells of a *komos* of doves which dwelt in the halls of Loxias at Delphi. There is no evidence that these doves were prophetic, like those at Dodona,¹ although they qualified for a *komos*. They swooped down to drink of the rejected wine which had been poured on the floor in consequence of an inauspicious word. But the name Oinades "rock doves" from *oinos* "wine" was a title of the Maenads. The conclusion is warranted that doves were at home at Delphi and therefore become the best source of the feathers in question.

Since the second temple was made by bees it must have had the shape of a beehive. It is here conjectured that its form determined that of the omphalos at Delphi. This stood in or near the temple of Apollo. According to one tradition the omphalos was the tomb of Dionysus (the risen Zagreus). Another tradition said it was the tomb of Aix ("Goat"), thus recalling the goatish entourage of Bacchos. An omphalos of beehive origin at Delphi would inherit the chthonic significance of honey. *Melikraton* a drink of honey and milk was a libation to the shades of the nether world as early as Homer.

A further reason for the burial of the taurine Zagreus in a tomb of beehive form was the relation of the bee to the bull. Bees were *bougeneis* "born of the bull" as noticed above (p. 2). Zagreus in his efforts to escape the Titans assumed the form of a bull. Then Hera bellowed² and the Titans

1. There seems to be a reminiscence, of the dove of Zeus at Dodona, in the gospel of *Mark* I, 10-12 where the Spirit (*pneuma*) descending from the heaven as a dove was accompanied by a voice. The Dodanaean dove was oracular.

2. Nonnus, *Dionysiaca* VI, 200. Her epitheton *boopis* "ox-eyed" is another reminiscence of her bovine origin. Cf. Juno and *junix* "calf". Did Juno have the same origin?

tore him to pieces. Apparently Hera was jealous of the bull-son of Persephone by her husband Zeus. Such theriomorphism must have been ancient of days. The *Taurii Ludi* at Rome, which were held in honor of the infernal gods, may have been related ultimately to Zagreus and to the Minoan bull contests at Cnossus. The importance and antiquity of the bull in Italy and Crete is revealed by their names. Italy is derived from *italos* "bull" while Crete and Egypt both had the name of Aeria¹ which is akin to the Basque *abere* "bovine animal".

The omphalos was both temple and tomb, and thus suits perfectly the tradition recorded by Firmicus Maternus² that Zeus "gave his son Dionysus (Zagreus) a temple for a tomb and appointed Silenus as priest". A very important illustration of this temple-tomb is an Athenian vase painting of the fifth century (Fig. 1). It depicts two Sileni digging into an omphaloid



1. Obverse of an Attic Red Figure Krater: Sileni Assisting at the Resurrection of Dionysos from his Omphalos-tomb

mound. One Silenus has struck the mound three times with his pick. As he leaves the scene in some haste, perhaps expecting a miracle, he looks back at his comrade who is about to strike a seventh (in all) blow. The gashes in the mound are the more conspicuous because of their difference in color.

1. Discussed in my book *Related Religious Ideas of Delphi, Tara and Jerusalem*, p. 68.

2. *De Errore* VI, 4-5.

The black gashes have been made with a black pick; the white with a white. Obviously the seven blows were necessary to resurrect the seven pieces of Zagreus which had been buried within the omphalos. The buried bull god was resurrected as Dionysus thus explaining his Orphic appellative *taurogenes* "born of a bull" (cf. *bougenes*) and its Latin equivalent *taurigenus*. It is this importance of the bull in Delphic tradition that offers a probable explanation of the reticulation on some omphaloi. It commemorates the net with which bulls were hunted and suggests that the Titans used one to snare the taurine Zagreus. Pausanias (X, 13, 1) tells us that Dropion, king of the Paeonians, sent to Delphi a bronze head of a Paeonian bull. He adds the detail that it was difficult to take the animal alive because no net was strong enough to resist its charge.¹ The Dionysiac implications of the net are confirmed by the word *agrenon* "net" which also was the name for the net-like woollen robe worn by Bacchanals and soothsayers.

The Homeric conception of a king as *diogenes* "descended from Zeus" has as an implied corollary divine burial. Zagreus was buried in an omphaloid beehive tomb. Since he arose from the dead, so should the divine king. The great beehive tombs at Orchomenos and Mycenae are magnified omphaloi that deify the royal dead. This conception survives in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem in the dome above the tomb of Christ. Confirmation of its Delphic origin is the reticulated omphalos still in situ in the pavement of the church and in the axis of the tomb. From the Holy City the dome was transmitted to Rome and other Christian churches. It is not surprising that there has been discovered under the dome of St. Peter's a cemetery with monuments decorated with Dionysiac motifs. These may be the survival of a Dionysiac cult which dates from the time of the Arcadian Evander when the Vatican hill acquired its name and bequeathed to posterity the words *vates* and *vaticinor*. Delphi used the equivalent of these words in revealing its occult knowledge of the future.

III

There remains to be briefly discussed the third temple at Delphi. Since tradition said that Apollo sent the second temple to the Hyperboreans, one is left to assume that its successor was built by Cadmus who captured the Delphic sanctuary before moving on to Thebes. The statement by Pausanias that this third temple was of bronze is correctly assumed by Frazer² to mean bronze-plated. The same assumption has been made about the brazen house of Athena at Sparta. These two temples share their technique with

1 One is reminded of the scene of capture of a bull in a net on a Mycenaean gold cup, and also of the "nets of doom" in which Agamemnon and Cassandra were caught (Aeschylus, *Agam.* 1048).

2 Pausanias III, p. 345.

the bronze-plated image of Dionysus-Cadmus at Boeotian Thebes and that of Zeus at Sparta.¹ It is quite probable that the technique of bronze plating was brought to Greece by the Scythian sons of Gaedheal who came down along the coast of Asia Minor on their long migration to the west. Cadmus was descended from one of those who settled in Tyre. Gaedheal's father Niul had attended the first school which was established at Babylon.² This citation confirms the belief of A. S. Murray³ that the sheathing of buildings with plates of bronze which prevailed in Assyria was borrowed by the Greeks at an early period. His statement should perhaps be revised to give the credit to Cadmus for bringing to Thebes and Delphi the technique of sheathing an aniconic figure with bronze, and probably also a temple.

A possible survival of the cult of Dionysus from the days of Gaedheal in Asia Minor may be a Phrygian altar which has recently been discussed by Miss C. H. E. Haspels (*A. J. A.* 1962, p. 285 and pl. 76). It is of Graeco-Roman date and bears an inscription which reads "The new mystics to Dionysus manifest." The altar was probably set up to commemorate their initiation into the god's mysteries as a result of which they would share in his rebirth, his "manifestation." The inscription determines the front of the altar. Its relief represents the god holding a thyrsus in his left hand while in his lowered right there is a bunch of grapes which a fox is biting. The animal is identified here as a fox because of its close association with Dionysus, an association of very early date as shown by the fact that his name Bassareus is the congener of *bassara* "fox" and *Bassara* "Thracian Bacchanal" and the Basque *asari* (1) "fox" and (2) "half-drunk."⁴ A second pair of words, Greek *kerdo* "fox" and Basque *kerda* "bunch of grapes" confirms the antiquity of these related ideas. And did not Dionysus send a fox to plague the city of Thebes?⁵ A further germane citation is the fable of Aesop, who was said to have been born in Phrygia, which records the interest of the fox in grapes as food. A vase painting of the fifth century represents a fox with a bunch of grapes above him.⁶ A curious tradition says that Aesop met a violent death at the hands of the people at Delphi. This probably in some way involves the *sparagmos*. So important was the interest of the fox in grapes as food that it gave its name to a vine (*alopekeus*) and to a kind of grape (*alopekis*).

A second relief, on the back of the altar (pl. 76, fig. 7), logically repre-

1. Paus., III, 17, 6.
2. Keating, *History of Ireland* II, p. 15 (trans. Dinneen).
3. *History of Greek Sculpture*² I, p. 38.
4. Even in English to fox is to intoxicate.
5. Paus., IX, 19, 1.
6. Daly, *Aesop Without Morals* (1961), frontispiece.

sents the all-important vine which may account for the diminutive figures of Zeus with double axe and his son Dionysus. The vine is more than twice as high as these figures. Both place a hand on its stalk. A very significant fact is that the vine has seven bunches of grapes. The same number appears in the famous vase painting by Execias which represents Dionysus sailing over the sea with a vine twined about the mast of his boat. His destination is Boeotia where the vine grew first in the land about Thebes (Paus. IX, 25, 1). The seven bunches allude to the seven pieces into which Zagreus was torn by the Titans and from which he was reborn as Dionysus.

Gaylord

PAMPHLET BINDER

Syracuse, N. Y.

Stockton, Calif.

DF261 .D35E3
The first three temples at Delphi; their

Princeton Theological Seminary-Speer Library



1 1012 00046 8720